

Save France From a Third Invasion, Clemenceau Pleads

Tells the Chamber of Commerce American Business Men Do Not Realize Their Influence Abroad

Greater Future Is Here

Links Vital Necessities of His Country With Aid He Is Seeking in the U. S.

Following is the text of M. Clemenceau's address before the Chamber of Commerce yesterday:

Gentlemen, I really don't know how to express my thanks, not only to this body of the Chamber of Commerce of New York but I should say to the whole of the American people.

Men have been too much criticized, and maybe overpraised, too. I think that is my case. Very often they ascribe to me too much ill and sometimes too much good. I don't believe that I have created a great deal of ill—certainly not to linger. A great deal of good? I would not dare say. But the most I did was to bring into action what I had learned in this country.

You have very great influence in Europe, and very often I say, and I will repeat, that you don't know your enormous power over there, the enormous power that you have upon European minds. If you knew it you would exert more of it in the right direction, and you would help Europe and help yourself at the same time.

Because, don't you see—of course I don't undertake to say what men are made for, but I know they must go along together. It is not the man alone who is the heart of man. People have spread themselves over the earth to work. In the old days when a man could defend his own family to himself, I suppose he had a great chance, he ought to be congratulated. Now the world has changed. America has accomplished so much that I cannot help asking myself what you are going to show me when you come back fifteen years hence. It surely won't be more wonderful.

Find America Wrapped in Work, but Not Provincial

But something has gone into you which I thought of at the beginning and which I did not always understand. You are not provincial at the time—I should not say more independent—but trying to show independence. Now, you keep very quiet among yourselves and go to work. You are a nation of workers, but at the bottom, when one is granted the favor of speaking with you, it is very clear that you are interested in all the questions of the world. There is nothing anything on this planet that does not interest you and does not make you wish to put a kind of American finger in the pie. And I think that you talked of every matter which might be alien to your sensibility and with the kind wish to promote the welfare of mankind. That is where you differ from the great British nation. They are a nation of workers, they have done splendid work, they have fine men. Among the great works they have done—a little people of themselves—the United States of America. But after all, they have done it, and it is not common work. I love them, I like to talk to them; but the action with them is not always so pleasant as with the Americans. I tried both during the war and during peace. I love them, I admire them anywhere. Wherever I go I will say that the British soldier is a fine, beautiful, magnificent soldier—stern, willing, capable of all sorts of endurance in all ways. I saw them only in the Flanders fields up to the girdle, looking every one of them a tub of mud, there and never to be moved.

There were days when I came to this admirable man, General Plummer, and asked him what he was going to do, expecting that he was going to answer, "I am going to retire." Smiling with his good face, he said: "I will go forward by and by." Dependable stock. But don't be too sure with goodness, since they could want to respect you as they want to respect you, because they deserve it. With America the part is so difficult, it is in a way something of the heart going to the heart. I don't know what it is.

Found American Soldier "Brave as a Man Can Be"

I don't think that any other soldier is any braver than any other soldier, but they are as brave as a man can be—and that is to say something. But there is a plainness, a frankness, a joy to live which give one's life if it is necessary that makes them very hard and puts on their faces a smile which brings hope and certainty of ultimate victory. That is what you have brought to us. We had been waiting for you a long time, my friends. There were terrible days. Thinking of it! We had to bear the whole brunt of the shock of the front for two years, almost alone. England was not ready; you were not, either. And then you declared war, then your soldiers began to come to the front. Magnificently they behaved, and to good and so childlike, so ready to give their lives for anything that was good and high and noble. Only to see them before the fighting came, our soldiers were pleased and wanted to go everywhere with them.

The other day at City Hall I tried to describe some spectacle I had seen at the front of those people going into the front taking the children and walking and trying to explain to them—I don't know if they could understand, since they could not speak, what America was, what the word meant, what America wanted and what she was going to do, and the father and the mother listened, understanding very well, of course, but knowing that what they heard was good and right and that everybody was going to be saved with these men. That is what you brought to us. That I will never forget. But, let me tell you, if it was good for us it was mighty good for you, too, because, after all, of course, I am not going to condemn success, I am not going to say that a man in business ought to be successful. Of course not. Human rivalry is the law of mankind. But there is a curse in success—military success, economic success, and every other kind of success—which brings man to have too much confidence in himself and to think not quite enough of others. That part of the success cannot be put upon you. It is not possible, because you have acquired—I know how much—a splendid renown as "the country of prosperity" that nobody will accuse you of making money and keeping it to yourselves. No! But, on the other hand, take care not to forget that

"The French Tiger" in Action



Georges Clemenceau, from a sketch by Noel Dorrille

there must be room enough for all men in the world.

Often hear that you are a young nation. Don't believe it! Don't believe it! You are as old as any European. We come from the same source. Your ancestors have labored ours. We are all of the same stock. But you have a new field, a magnificent field—the best that there was. All these tales of antiquity, these legends of olden times, are now all things of the past. It is not to be conceived that America will ever be a thing of the past. Not I don't say that you will remain as you are, but you ought to strive to get better and better, and the beauty of it is that if a man does something right it is good for the man it helps and it is good for himself, because each will try to live better and better. Many of the others have got it. They don't show it. And you don't want to make too much of a show of it. But it is enough to speak with you ten minutes to know that you are the right kind of men and that something great may be expected from you.

Only let me tell you, if I have reproaches to pass upon you—the trouble is it looks absurd, with your press and wireless and telegraph and everything—that you don't find you as well informed as you ought to be. You are a traveling people. I have met a great many Americans in Paris. Do you know what they tell me? They live among themselves. They talk of Fifth Avenue, of Broadway, of business, of California—I don't know what—but they don't take the trouble to learn French and go and see the French and mix up with them and get at the bottom of the real information that can be got from those people. That is what I complain of. Learning French is nothing. Ask your soldiers. They took a young girl by the arm, and very soon they managed to get a good talk. Those ideal soldiers—stern, willing, capable of all sorts of endurance in all ways. I saw a lot of them the other day that saw me in France, when they had been fighting as hard as fight could be, and they were not even tired. They had twenty-two divisions of 7,000 each, with four French divisions—all that under the command of Pershing. They really carried the attack of St. Mihiel and could not be expected to be done, and the next day what were they doing? Filling their arms with children, and young ladies bringing flowers, singing, crying, being happy, carrying them all over the country which they had not been permitted to see for three years, and two weeks after that in the deepest of the front, the French soldiers were going back to carry on the fight at Laon, and the young men of the American army there to dig in with General Pershing.

And so we have had a terrific number of dead and killed and wounded.

Service Measured Not in Numbers but in Effects

I do not think about any other people. I say this to you as you are. You may hear a great deal and I am speaking a great deal to you, but I don't think you will be very little. Two and a half million wounded, and then all this was double what it would have been if the men had not been so full of dash. But it is a great deal. It is a great deal, considering the time you were engaged; and if more time had progressed, if the Germans had not asked for mercy, the French soldiers would have been giving their places to their American brothers and the figures would have been reversed. Therefore do not look at the figures, look at the effects. Look at the work, look at the hope that you have given to the European world.

You must understand it. Remember how Europe was made out of human blood—persecution of every one that was right and good for centuries and centuries. Think of it! King Edward VII was the first king of Europe for centuries that did not carry in his title "King of France." He told me himself as being of the old times, and in the Treaty of Versailles we liberated America, and the King of England, and the King of France. Well, that shows that it takes a great deal for those who understand and think of the way that America was founded. You had a magnificent set of statesmen as the world had not seen for a long time, and that was all. That was enough indeed, because there was a people behind them. And when we saw George Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Adams, Alexander Hamilton and such men as that don't you see it looks like a picture? You at once see a great work grandly accomplished. But that is the picture, and leave behind it. England has never been able—and that is pretty good—to do more than liberate itself. I do not say it is nothing. Very far from it, but you went further. You wanted to liberate others, and when you were ready to get free by yourself you wanted the world to be liberated. You said it in your declaration: "that you called all men to be free."

pursuit of happiness. These are the very words. The world had not known them yet. The world had found them in the books, but they had not seen them in action, and that is where you are great, because for the first time you practically understood, you practically meant to make your real, idealistic superior and superior men facts, and you did make them facts.

But, mind you, don't believe that a great people can be great one day and small another. No. We are the partners of the evil we have been doing, as well as the good. You appeared in the world as the liberators. And when a few days after came the French Revolution, then Europe began to feel that something had happened which changed the face of the world.

"Marseillaise" Recalls Words of His Country

Yesterday I heard at the Metropolitan the "Marseillaise," and I thought, Against whom was that great national song brought to the people? Against Germany, against the German, who wanted to pull the French Revolution down and to re-establish autocracy. I don't mean to abuse them. They are what they are. They have been a great people, and I do not see why they should not be a great people again. Only, they must atone for the havoc that they have been doing. Think of it! The Germans have made so much havoc that they cannot pay the bill. There is no reparation. There was too much destruction. Can you imagine twenty thousand manufacturing departments—flax, linen, cotton, steel, sugar—everything? Twenty thousand manufacturing departments. Do you suppose, can you fancy, such a devastation, where even the trees have been cut down willfully to prevent the farmer when he comes back from making a living? Do you know what it is to have seen men and women carried under the stick of the Germans—like cattle? Women taken away, girls being ravished? When went into one town every house had been blown up by one, but one—the one where I say, destroyed, but the one where I say, and you can see the mine there that was intended to blow it up, and a dozen women came to me, kneeling, crying and saying, "Give us back our girls that they have taken away."

So it is hard to understand what devastation means. If you go to Soissons you can see the church or cathedral there. On every pillar anybody can see where there is a hole for blowing up the church. What for? The idea is if you tear the men the war will be shorter. It may be that our soldiers' hearts would bleed. Surely, but also it made them stronger against the enemy. Only, my friends, business men, the devastation has been made by the Germans, not by useless havoc, but because it was going to handicap us when peace would come and we would try to meet the needs of the world. Twenty thousand manufacturing departments every piece had been taken away to Germany. Our coal mines entirely destroyed, and nobody knows how many years it will take before they begin to work again. I do not tell you this to excite your pity. I don't want to complain. I don't want my country to be pitied. I do not say I don't want to be helped, but I want her to be helped with the heart rather than with the pocket. At the same time I say, don't you think that I would have been fair from a financial point of view—I speak to business men—I cannot forget it, to help us in peace as we have helped each other in war? As soon as war was over we were frankly told that all economic relations of the war time were ended and we were not to expect any financial help from those who had given us so generously a great deal of help. Well, I say that if one of us is interested in some industry, whatever it is, and if at any time you think you must stop your relations with it, very good; but unless you want to kill them you are going to take time to arrange and prepare matters so that nobody will suffer too much from it. Well, we were deprived of that, and that was a great pity. It was the opening of the crisis we are living in now.

"I Do Not Want to See My Land Invaded a Third Time"

Another point was very irksome—the question of safety. Think of it! I am not a very old man, you know, but after all, you would not look at me as being a boy. Twice in my life I have seen my country invaded by the Germans. That is twice too many. I don't want to see it a third time. I am sometimes called a militarist. Not at home, because in my own country if you say that I belong to the militarist group even my worst friends would laugh at you. But we are said to be militarists because we keep a comparatively small army. That is not hard to understand. We want to be safe at home. When the treaty came to this point in the long liberating document that in January I was told by Mr. Lloyd George, "If you will give up

the Rhine I will give you the British guaranty," and I accepted it. And I also promised, as far as the institution would permit it, that the President would ask me to come to Congress, America left. It was a great mistake to leave without any proposal for an adjustment of matters. It was a great mistake, and the source of all the evil that is taking place now. But we were left in the lurch. You should contemplate us not only from a financial point of view, but from a military point of view. We have to defend ourselves. Remembering that our frontier has been crossed twice in fifty years, I defend it.

I am not going to plead extenuating circumstances. The five billions of our military budget is very heavy upon us. Our budget has a debt of five billions, and of course I have no authority to enrage any one, but I think that the duty of France is to cut down this four billions for the next year so as to have a budget that can face a crisis. I have no doubt that it can be done, and it will be done. I am sure of it. It cannot be otherwise. We cannot go on that way any longer. If you lay this blame upon it, I tell you we might have done it sooner, maybe you are right. And if you tell me that it is a very big army we are keeping, it looks like it, I own. But, then, be sure that there is a great deal of wisdom, and maybe you know what wisdom means in such matters. We pay five billion, but we have not got an army of five billion. Well, even democracies are not perfect. They get nearer and nearer every day, but they have not yet reached that point. And so, what do we do? We were promised safety, and we did not get it. Very good; we took it upon ourselves, and we will keep it, as I say. The more so because, as President Wilson had it, we are at the frontiers of liberty, because the fabrication of Europe now depends upon our means of defending it against the Germans.

France Has Given Up Half Of Awards Under Treaty

My friends, do you know that 50 per cent—in fact, 57 per cent—of what the treaty conceded to us has been given back to them? I have been three years under the pressure of England, who wanted to find a market for a workingman in Germany? We had no market to compete for because we had no means of competing. We considered everything, we got no compensation whatever. I don't complain. One day at the end of the war I was asked in the House of Representatives in Paris what would be my policy when the war was over. I told them, "My policy is to remain faithful with England and America and to avoid everything that is necessary to obtain this result." Experiments were made. America left. That was very hard upon us. You had been brought up to reverse the treaty. I have nothing to say against it. I think it did good on some occasions, and if it was necessary to recall it, with invaders of any kind, even if they were to be recalled, I tell you frankly that you would be right.

But the policy for one people is not the policy for all. You are very sorry to feel that something had happened which changed the face of the world.

Times have changed. Do you understand your own mind, that is or is not what change was to come when President Wilson came before Congress and said that you were going to fight so that democracy might be in the world? That was a very thing. That meant you were going to work for liberation. That you did. But let me tell you—frankly, you know, I stopped here, saying, "That you should have left that to your business. I did not come here to blame you or to judge. It is a matter for you to discuss among yourselves. But I leave without propose, left without saying a word—without trying to adjust differences so that theoretically the Germans would have before their eyes during peace and during war three nations—England, America, France. That was the great mistake that you are paying for now. I won't put you to this trial.

I want to tell you simply, practical men as you are, that I came of course not on any mission. Let missions go where they belong. No, the best mission is the mission that man takes for himself on his own impulse. In that, too, I am an American. My visit to America was with the idea that a man could do something wrong somewhere among his friends, but I believe he can bring the good work that sets everything right.

Asks Americans to Follow Dictates of Her Own Heart

And so the people ask me, "What do you want us to do?" I answer I don't know what I want you to do. I want you to interfere in Europe because you left it to the Germans you were to interfere in the future or not is not for our discussion; it belongs to you, and I know the loss of influence among people will bring you more and more interest in yourselves in European business as we interest ourselves more and more with American business. So do what you please. I have no argument which you choose yourselves. You have Parliament. You have your own meetings, your own press, your own discussions, your own debate, your own good that is in your heart. I think a little we bit of selfishness at times, which I never saw, of course. Make a fine mission of all that and you will need to ask me what I should tell you to do.

But I want you to come back, make a little new trip to Europe, saying, "Well, now gentlemen, let us see the matter with you; something gone wrong? I will give you some help; am I of no use?" And see what will be our answer. Of course, I am very strong upon reparations. It is life and death for my country. We have already spent \$97,000,000,000 rebuilding houses, churches and schools and so on, and I won't ask that not being paid by Germany as she had promised to do, you know we sometimes are a little shallow in our pockets. I don't deny it, there is no shame in it. But I do care so much about that as I care for the effect upon Germany. Don't you see, it was a great encouragement for Germany to see division among the Allies and all these quarrels between France and England? If they be useful I don't object to quarrels; there is something good in them when for a good man. But they were perfectly useless, and did not bring any good to anybody, but were a great encouragement to Germany. Don't you think it is encouraging to them when you say, raising your hat, "Goodbye, gentlemen, I will see you maybe when you fight again in two or three hundred years? Well, Germans had nothing before that but France, and they then began that campaign of hatred, going on all through the German universities, all through the country, and which has even come to New York in numerous lies and tracts which I have seen myself. Everything against France! Nothing against England, nothing against America. They even proposed that you would help them in the most direct manner, and the moment you go and show yourselves ready to say a good word for the end of the kaisers everything will change.

I am not of those who want to have the people continue to fight each other and further massacre each other. Germany has been a great nation and there is no reason why she should not be again after she has

paid for the evil she has done. There are two Germans, the democracy and the militarists. We are supposed to be militarists. We were dependent upon our payments. Nobody knows that they are preparing for war again every day. I have it here—a long list of the guns, the machine guns, the cannon, and so on, that are being prepared for war. Now, after this three-power entente which they have arranged with the barbaric Turks and the anarchistic Russians, they are able to have armament built for them without our being able to prevent it. You know that there is not a day when that thing does not go on. There is the government in Berlin and there is the government in Bavaria, headed by Ludendorff that one of these days wants to meet democracy and crash it if it can, and if democracy is crushed to us. So after all, you see we are not there is a chance of establishing peace on a solid basis.

We Are Militarists Because We Want to Defend Ourselves

It is not for us to interfere, but it is for us to calculate the consequences of what we are doing, and I tell you we are militarists because we want to defend our country. At that treaty which you left every article out of three was purely American, because it was your representative who decided upon all these questions. To your honor, to your credit, but for your responsibility, too, my friends.

Well, then, I ask you to do this for the reparations, and I propose that it is a history lesson to speak of the Allied debt, because the moment you have some stability established trust will be re-established, and you know trust is fine food for bankers. I want to make a note of it, and instead of our going to them and asking them to do something for us, they will come to us and say: "Isn't there some business for us to transact?" At that moment you will see we are ready to pay. You must not believe we have not been paying anything. That would not be fair. We bought the American stock and we engaged ourselves to pay \$20,000,000 a year, which we have been doing, and that makes \$60,000,000. It is about the same sum England has paid to us. So after all, you see we are not quite so bad as some of you wanted us to be. Our safety—it is more embarrassing, something that I wish will be done one way or the other—France's safety, don't you see, is the safety of Europe. It is through that part of the Rhine passed all the invasions since Europe has been in existence. We have liberated people. You don't think we are raising armies to dominate them. Ask them. Ask them in whom they have confidence and to whom they are loyal. Ask them to whom they tell you "in France." And they will tell you, too, "in America." Because so much hope had risen when your President came that for a day people thought all difficulties, all troubles, all misery were at an end.

Well, I was offered that guaranty, and if I did not receive it. So long as I wish will be done one way or the other—France's safety, don't you see, is the safety of Europe. It is through that part of the Rhine passed all the invasions since Europe has been in existence. We have liberated people. You don't think we are raising armies to dominate them. Ask them. Ask them in whom they have confidence and to whom they are loyal. Ask them to whom they tell you "in France." And they will tell you, too, "in America." Because so much hope had risen when your President came that for a day people thought all difficulties, all troubles, all misery were at an end.

Excuse me for having kept you so

treaty we did not ask for one German subject to become Frenchmen. Not for one. Our feeling is the same. And instead we were building—trying to build this society of nations, and instead of this, which is a very fine new word for a very old thing—a thing that failed, although there was in old times, or course, the Oracle of Delphi, which was exactly founded on the principles of the League of Nations, and it brought war among the Greeks and the Romans, and it was Philip and Alexander conquering Greece and doing what you know. Well, if you can do that without any title—well, then, because of that, every deed, notwithstanding before her the fact of Belgium was a spot that cannot be put away for a long time, it is a spot that cannot be taken away—how can it be taken away when we know that she does not keep her word?

World Peace A Slow Evolution, He Concludes

Well, nevertheless, the time must come where things must take a better appearance, and before all, from nations. Each day has got to do the work of each day. If, every morning when we get up, we managed to make full for the day that is coming all our duty, I should not be surprised if mankind would be a paradise, or very near to it. But we don't. We make a compromise, as everybody is obliged to do. But I say in these relations between European nations with such a long, bloody history, the beginning of a great nation of peace may be the beginning of something very great. You see, in history people don't understand the whereabouts of the time in which they live. We have been causing a drama which people will understand maybe not before a century to come, and we are in a crisis, the end of which nobody can foresee. Only let us do our duty day by day. That is too much, asking to stop a whole nation on the frontier in that place—well, the French will take care of it. They will do their duty, only don't abuse them because they are doing their work. I remember that before the war one day at Carlsbad I was very much abused by Lloyd George, whom I saw for the first time that day, although I had to see him. So I said a good deal, and while I wanted to show him that war was coming—and war from Germany. He interposed it was all for France's fault. Well, don't do that to-day. And in order to know what you have to do, do as I say—go to France and see; ask questions; go to public and private citizens and ask them about figures. Anything that you want to know will not be refused. We would be glad to show you and you will judge for yourself. Let me see you.

I was here fifty-seven years ago, nearly more happy than I am now, and I felt a new America. I knew a deal about it. But in a few days, without having seen after all very much, and although I had the honor to be talking to some of the chief men you have in this country, my ideas are changing. Some way or other I thought I was going to undertake a task that was very hard, and I went to it, being an old man, wishing nothing, waiting for no reward and happy to feel that once more it is given to him he would perform his duty. And now, in a few days, because I have seen your eyes and faces, because you said yes or no to certain questions, something is changed with me, and if I was to go home to-morrow I would tell my friends, "Be quiet, don't know how they will do it, but be sure the Yankee will do it once more." Excuse me for having kept you so

long, gentlemen. I don't know how to thank you for your kind welcome and charming well-wishes to me, but be sure that I feel due gratitude toward you.

"Tiger" to Aid Peace Forum

Will Address Capital Session on December 8

From The Tribune's Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON, Nov. 22.—Men and women of international prominence, headed by Georges Clemenceau, former Premier of France, will participate in a lecturers' conference on public opinion and world peace at Memorial Continental Hall here December 7, 8 and 9. M. Clemenceau will address the conference on "The Case of France" on Friday, December 8. It is understood the Tiger will deal chiefly with the fears of France growing out of the World War.

The conference is to be held under the auspices of the International Lyceum and Chautauqua Association, President Harding, one of the lecturers. The purpose of the

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